Message Text

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NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

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FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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AMEMBASSY BUD*PEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBA SY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION NATO

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E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PFOR PINT RO

SUBJECT: FOURTH QUARTER 1973 POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TRENDS: ROMANIA

REF: (A) BUCHAREST 3653; (B) BUCHAREST 4258; (C) BUCHAREST 4375.

1. THIS MESSAGE SUPPLEMENTS ANALYSES PREPARED FOR CEAUSESCU'S VISIT TO US (REF B) AND FOR SECRETARY'S EUR CHIEFS OF MISSION CONFERENCE (REF A AND C) ON BASIC TRENDS IN US-ROMANIAN RELATIONS, ROMANIAN FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY, AND ROMANIAN LEADERSHIP SITUATION.

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2. CEAUSESCU'S US VISIT. CEAUSESCU'S TRIP TO US,

APART FROM ITS POWERFUL AND FAVORABLE PUBLIC IMPACT HERE, HAD POLITICAL EFFECT OF SOOTHING OFFICIAL GOR CONCERN OVER WHAT ALLEGED US ABSORPTION IN "GREAT-POWER BILATERALISM" MIGHT EVENTUALLY PORTEND FOR ITS OWN SECURITY. BY APPEARING TO HAVE ACHIEVED DIALOGUE OF EQUALS, CEAUSESCU'S PERSONAL PRESTIGE NO DOUBT HAS BENEFITTED, IF ONLY TEMPORARILY, ALTHOUGH NOT WITH THAT BODY OF ROMANIAN OPINION WHICH IS BECOMING SKEPTICAL ABOUT WORTH OF HIS PEREGRINATIONS ABROAD.

- 3. CEAUSESCU'S LATIN AMERICAN TOUR IN SEPTEMBER EXEMPLIFIED ROMANIA'S QUEST TO BECOME LESS "ALIGNED" AND MORE IDENTIFIED WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, ALTHOUGH GOR'S TIES WITH ISRAEL, CONTINUED RELATIONS WITH CHILEAN JUNTA, AND RAPPROCHEMENT WITH GREEK COLONELS SHOW THAT GOR HAS MORE IN MIND THAN MERE MIMICRY OF YUGOSLAVIA'S "NON-ALIGNED" COURSE. BY SAME TOKEN, US VISIT ILLUSTRATED HOW DEPENDENT GOR REMAINS ON KEEPING UP ITS ECONOMIC AND DIPLOMATIC MOMENTUM WITH INDUSTRIALIZED WEST, AS WELL AS HOW RESOURCEFULLY ROMANIA SEEKS TO FOLLOW BOTH POLICY AVENUES TO WIDEN AND LIGITIMIZE ITS LIMITED MARGIN OF INDEPENDENCE. CEAUSESCU'S FORMULA MAY SEEM BY NOW SOMEWHAT WORN, WITH PERSISTENT, DETAILED DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS BEING REQUIRED JUST TO HOLD WHAT MANEUVERABILITY HAS BEEN GAINED; YET GOR EVEN NOW IS BUSY SOLICITING 1974 INVITATIONS FROM A VARIETY OF STATESMEN AND COUNTRIES.
- 4. MIDDLE EAST. ROMANIA'S "NEUTRAL" STANCE DURING THE OCTOBER ARAB-ISRAEL WAR AND ITS ACTIVIST SEARCH FOR A ROLE IN ME PEACE EFFORTS LED TO STRAINS IN RELATIONS WITH THE USSR, YUGOSLAVIA AND THE ARABS. MOST IMMEDIATE PROBLEM MAY BE RUMORED PRESSURES FROM ARABS TO BREAK RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. GOR IS MOST UNLIKELY TO DO THIS LEST ITS OVERALL POSTURE OF HAVING "PRINCIPLED" FOREIGN POLICY BE COMPROMISED, ALTHOUGH IT COULD PROBABLY STEP UP PRO-ARAB GESTURES TO EXTENT REQUIRED TO DEFLECT PRESSURE. FOR MOMENT, ARAB GOVERNMENTS HAVE NOT SEEMED PREPARED TO PRESS MATTERS PUBLICLY, NOTWITHSTANDING POSSIBLE ROMANIAN VULNERABILITY CONFIDENTIAL

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TO SUCH ARAB ECONOMIC WEAPONS AS CURTAILMENT OF HER HARD CURRENCY PURCHASES OR OF DELIVERIES OF LIMITED AMOUNT OF CRUDE OIL TO ROMANIA FROM ARAB SOURCES. ROMANIAN DIPLOMACY (E.G. CEAUSESCU'S STOP IN ALGERIA EN ROUTE TO US OR TRAVELS OF CEAUSESCU'S EMISSARIES TO ARAB CAPITALS TO "EXPLAIN" GOR'S POSITION) NO DOUBT AIMS AT AVERTING THE WORST WHILE RETAINING POTENTIAL FOR ME "GOOD OFFICES" ROLE OR AS

FALLBACK NEGOTIATING CHANNEL (PRESENT SHAPE OF GENEVA CONFERENCE PRESUMABLY HAS CHILLED GOR HOPE TO BE ONE OF SELECTED SMALLER COUNTRIES AROUND PEACE TABLE).

- 5. EMIGRATION. THE LITTLE-PUBLICIZED TRANSIT FLOW OF SOVIET JEWS THROUGH ROMANIA, HALTED BY GOR AT OUTSET OF ME WAR, HAS APPARENTLY NOT RESUMED DESPITE QUIET DIPLOMACY BY ISRAELIS. NOTWITHSTANDING ME WAR, EMIGRATION OF ROMANIAN JEWS TO ISRAEL CONTINUED AT RESPECTABLE RATE OF MORE THAN SEVERAL HUNDRED PER MONTH ALTHOUGH NOT IN GREATER NUMBERS TO WHICH ISRAELIS SAY THEY THOUGHT GOR HAD PRIVATELY AGREED. MEANWHILE, ALTHOUGH NO SIGNIFICANT LOOSENING HAS YET OCCURRED AS REGARDS US REPRESENTATION LIST PRESENTED IN LATE NOVEMBER IN CONNECTION WITH CEAUSESCU'S US VISIT, IT IS PERHAPS TOO EARLY FOR INITIATIVE TO HAVE TAKEN EFFECT. 1972 LIST EVENTUALLY GOT RESULTS, BUT OVER PERIOD OF MONTHS. EVEN SO, ROMANIAN EMIGRATION AND TRAVEL TO US IN 1973 WILL TOP LAST YEAR SLIGHTLY, ALTHOUGH WELL BELOW PEAKS WHICH ACCOMPANIED NIXON VISIT TO ROMANIA (1969) AND CEAUSESCU TO US (1970).
- 6. ECONOMY. 1974 PLAN FIGURES SHOW NO LETUP IN REGIME'S HARD-DRIVING INDUSTRIALIZATION POLICY (INCLUDING ONE OF WORLD'S HIGHEST INVESTMENT RATES) AIMED AT PROVIDING ECONOMIC UNDERPINNING REGIME DEEMS NECESSARY FOR AUTHENTIC NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE. HOWEVER, AS FIVE-YEAR PLAN ENTERS PENULTIMATE YEAR, ENDEMIC INEFFICIENCIES AND WEAKNESSES ARE BECOMING MORE APPARENT AND ADVERSE TURNS IN SUCH UNPREDICTABLE FACTORS AS WEATHER FOR AGRICULTURE, WORLD MARKET DEMAND AND PRICES, AND IMPACT OF FUEL CRISIS, COULD CHECK PROGRESS TOWARD

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